

MEMOIRS

OF

LITERATURE.

MONDAY, November 3. 1712.

I.

LETTER A del Sig. Marchese
SCIPIONE MAFFEI al Sig.
Apostolo Zeno in data de' 26 Giug-
no del corrente anno (1711.) da
Torino.

That is, *A LETTER to M.*
Apostolo Zeno, concerning the Li-
brary of H. R. H. the Duke of Savoy,
written from Turin the 26th of
June, 1711. By the Marquis
SCIPIO MAFFEI.

Dear Friend,

I THOUGHT I should make a very short
Answer to your Letter, in which you
desire me to send you some News rela-
ting to Learning; for all the Talk of the
Town runs upon bringing the Troops toge-
ther, and going into the Field. But it falls
out that I have more Matter, of that Kind to
entertain you with, than I can well enlarge
upon for the present. 'Tis true, the things
which I have found here, are not new;
however, I am sure, the more Ancient they
are, the more they will be acceptable to you.
Besides, if I am not mistaken, the following
Account must needs appear wholly new to

you: Perhaps neither you, nor any body
else, did ever hear of the Library of *Turin*,
and of the inestimable Treasures contained
in it. On the contrary, it has been hitherto
generally believed, that this Part of *Italy*
was deprived of those Curiosities, that are
so common every where else. Before I took
this Journey, having enquired of some
Piemontese, whether it was possible that there
should be no Library in such a Noble and
Ancient Court, they told me there was one,
and that since the great Fire, which hapened
Fifty Years ago, when all the Books were
thrown out of the Windows, those that
could be recovered, had not been put in or-
der, and lay all in a Heap. I asked, how
they were bound, and I perceived from the
Description of the Binding, that there was
a great Quantity of Manuscripts, or at least
of old Editions. I wondred how those
Learned Ultramountains, who travelled into
Italy only with a Design to make new Dis-
coveries relating to Learning, and were let
into that Room, could forbear perusing those
Books; and I resolved to satisfy my Curiosi-
ty. Being arrived at *Turin*, and having
spent some Days about the Business, which
has occasioned my Journey, I went to the
Library. The Books were no longer in a
Heap, but placed upon Shelves by the Care
of the Abbot *Macher*, a most obliging
Gentleman of *Savoy*, who was a Publick
Minister at *Venice* some Years ago. His
Royal Highness has ordered him to put that
Library in Order, till the Noble Project,
U u which

which has been formed here, for the promoting of Learning, may be executed: Which makes me hope, that this Country will be no less famous for Learning, than it is now for its Warlike Exploits. I quickly observed, that this Library being very Ancient, and having been neglected for a long time, has no Modern Books in it, excepting a long Set of Volumes relating to the Publick Law, especially the Civil and German Law, which are very scarce in Italy. I took out here and there many Books, and I found several of our Ancient Editions of *Venice*, *Florence*, and *Rome*, and abundance of those small Pieces that came out in Italy in the XVth Century, or in the Beginning of the next, and are now so much esteemed by many People, and even carefully reprinted in remote Countries.

I have seen many Books here printed upon Parchment, among others the *Polyglot Bible* in XI. Volumes, published by *Plantin* at *Antwerp* under the Direction of *Arrias Montanus*. The following Words are to be seen in gold Letters upon the Cover of the First Volume: *Emanueli Sabaud. Duci Sacror. Biblior. exemplar purum XI. tom. in membr. Philippus II. Hispan. Rex Cognato ac fratri chariss. sacrum munus. MDLXXIII.* I have perused with great Pleasure the *Theatrum Statuum*, or the *Atlas of Savoy*, which I had never seen before; few Copies whereof were magnificently printed at *Amsterdam*, apud heredes *Joannis Blaeu* 1682. Fol. The First Volume contains *Piedmont*, and the Second, *Savoy*, and other Dominions, with a great many Maps representing not only the Plans of Towns and Fortifications, but also the Passages through the *Alps*, and all considerable Buildings. One may see in that Work an exact Delineation of the Arches of *Susa* and *Aouste*, and of other Remains of Antiquity; among which there is an Arch of Marble to be seen at *Aix* in *Savoy*, a Place very much frequented by the *Romans* by reason of its Hot Baths. That Arch was not erected for a Victory, or a Passage, but for a Sepulchre. *L. Pompeius Campanus vivus fecit.* There are at the Top of it Eight small Cells with their Inscriptions; they contained the Urns and Ashes of that Man's Relations. In that Part of the *Atlas*, which describes the County of *Nice*, one may see the Famous Trophy of *Augustus* drawn from the precious Remains of that great Work:

That Piece is the more valuable, because those Remains are no longer exant, having been destroyed during this War.

But you expect with great Impatience, that I should discourse of Manuscripts, of which you are extremely fond. I shall only say something upon that Head; for an exact Account would take up several Months. Those Manuscripts are so numerous, that they amount to some Thousands: They are most of them large, and many so bulky, that 'tis no easy thing to take them out. I have spent a great part of that time, which I could spare, upon one single Manuscript; and therefore I shall discourse of it at large. It is neatly written in Capital Letters upon Parchment, and consists of 122 Leaves; but it is imperfect at the End. It did belong formerly to the Noble Monastery of *Bobio*, as it appears from these Words prefixed to it, *Liber sancti Columbani de Bobio.* I think it was written in the Fifth Century, and even before the Middle of it. What is certain is, that there are few Manuscripts so ancient as this. I don't send you the Alphabet, because the Character of those Times is sufficiently known from the Specimens that have been published of the most Ancient Manuscripts: But because you saw last Year the *Lactantius* of *St. Salvatore* at *Bologna*, I must tell you, that as far as I remember, this Character is much larger, and in some Measure more square. I shall occasionally observe, that the Learned Father *de Montfaucon* * is very much mistaken, when he says that this Manuscript (of *Bologna*) has never been made use of; for I have seen in the Noble Library of *M. Sainbante* at *Verona*, an Edition of *Lactantius* in Folio, made at *Cesena* (I don't remember the Year), in the Preface of which 'tis said, that it was corrected from that Manuscript; and it was by this Means that I came to know it. But to return to the Manuscript of *Turin*, you will doubtless be amazed, when I tell you that it contains in the First place, the whole *Abridgment* of *Lactantius's Institutions*. We had only the Third Part of that Abridgment, beginning in the Middle of the Vth Book; and it appears from *St. Jerome, de Viris illustribus*, that he had it not perfect. I began to read that Work with

* *Diar. Ital. cap. 27.*

Eagerness, and then to transcribe it; but I have not been able to transcribe above one Half, or something more. However you need not be uneasy at it, for that Piece and the remaining Part of that Manuscript will be shortly published by M. Pfaff, who has sent a Copy of it to Paris, to have it printed there *. He is very well skill'd in Greek and Hebrew, and tho he is not above 24 Years of Age, he put out some Years ago a Critical Dissertation upon some Various Readings of the New Testament. He has been here for some Years, in the Quality of Preceptor to the Hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, and has had time enough to draw up an exact Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts, and to illustrate them with Critical Observations: 'Tis to be hoped that Catalogue will be shortly published. In the mean time, I send you the Beginning of that Manuscript, without making any Alteration in it, knowing that you, and other Learned Criticks, are always willing to see a Manuscript such as it is, either to take notice of the Orthography, and to find out the Ancient Pronunciation, or because a manifest Error in the Copy enables one to discover other Errors that are not so palpable. I have only pointed this Fragment, and inserted in the Margin some of the most material Emendations. You will doubtless read with great Pleasure that Passage, which St. Jerome could not see, and which was thought to be lost in his own Time.

Quamquam divinarum institutionum libri, quos jam pridem ad inlustrandam veritatem religionemque (a) conscripsimus, ita legentium mentes instruant, ita informant, ut nec prolixitas pariat fastidium, nec oneret ubertas; tamen horum tibi epitomen fieri, Pentadi frater, desideras: credo ut ad te aliquid scribam, tuumque nomen in nostro qualicumque opere celebretur. Faciam quod postulas, etsi difficile videtur, ea quo septem maximis voluminibus explicata sunt, in unum conferre: fit enim totum & minus plenum, cum tanta rerum multitudo in angustum coartanda sit, & brebitate ipsa minus clarum; maxime cum & argumenta plurima, & exempla, in quibus lumen est probationum, necesse sit pre-

teriri: quoniam tanta eorum copia est, ut vel sola librum conficere possint: quibus sublati quid poterit (a) . . . quid apertum videri? sed enitar quantum res finit & diffusa substringere, & prolixa brebiare: sic tamen ut neque res ad copiam, neque claritas ad intelligentiam deesse videatur.

In hoc opere, quo in lucem veritas protrahenda est, prima incidit questio, sit ne aliqua providentia, quae aut fecerit, aut regat mundum. Esse nemini dubium est siquidem omnium fere philosophorum, praeter scholam Epicuri, una vox una sententia est, nec fieri sine artifice Deo potuisse mundum, nec sine rectore constare. Itaque non solum a doctissimis viris, sed & omnium mortalium testimoniis ac sensibus coarguitur Epicurus: quis enim de providentia dubitet, cum videat caelos, terramque sic disposita, sic temperata esse universa, (b) non modo ad pulchritudinem, ornamentumque mirabilem, sed ad usum quoque hominum, ceterorumque viventium commoditatem aptissime convenirent? non potest igitur quod ratione constat sine ratione coepisse.

Quoniam certum est esse providentiam, sequitur alia questio, utrumne Deus unus, an plures, quae quidem multum habet ambiguitas (c): dissentiant enim non modo singuli inter se, verum etiam populi, adque gentes. Sed qui rationem sequetur, intellet, nec dominum esse posse, nisi unum; nec patrem, nisi unum: nam si Deus, qui omnia condidit & idem Dominus, & idem pater est, unus sit, necesse est, ut idem sit caput, idemque fons rerum. Nec potest aliter rerum summa consistere, nisi ad unum cuncta referantur: nisi unus teneat gubernaculum, nisi unus frena moderetur, regatque universa membra, tanquam mens una. Si multi sint in examine apum reges, peribunt, aut dissipabuntur, dum regibus incessit magno discordia motu: si plures in armento duces, tamdiu proeliabuntur, donec unus optineat: si multi in exercitu imperatores, nec pareri poterit a milite cum diversa jubeantur, nec ab iis ipsis unitas optineri, cum sibi quisque pro moribus consulat. Sic in hac mundi re p nisi unus fuisset moderator qui & conditor, aut soluta fuisset omnis haec moles, aut nec condi quidem omnino potuisset. Praeterea in multis non potest esse totum, cum singuli sua officia, suas optineant potestates; nullus igitur eorum poterit omnipotens nuncupari, quod est verum cognomen-

* An Account of that printed Manuscript may be seen above, pag. 235.

(a) i. religionemque.

(a) There is a Gap here.

(b) Ut is wanting.

(c) i. ambiguitatis.

tum Dei, quoniam id solum poterit quod in ipso est; quod autem in aliis, nec audebit attingere: non vulcanus sibi aquam vindicavit (a) aut neptunus ignem; non ceres artium peritiam, nec minerva frugum; non arma mercurius, nec mars lyram; non jupiter medicinam, nec asclepius falmen: facilius illud ab alio jactum suscipiet, quam ipse torquebit. Si ergo singuli non possunt omnia, minus habent virium, minus potestatis: is autem Deus putandus est, qui potest totum, quam qui de toto minimum. Unus igitur Deus est perfectus, aeternus, incorruptibilis, impassibilis, nulli rei potestative subiectus, ipse omnia possidens, omnia regens, quem nec estimare sensu valeat humana mens, nec loqui lingua mortalis. Sublimior enim ac major est, quam ut possit aut cogitatione hominis, aut sermone comprehendere.

Denique ut taceam de prophetis unius Dei praedicatoribus, poetae quoque, & philosophi, & vates testimonium singulari Deo perhibent. Orfeus principalem Deum dicit, qui caelum solemque cum ceteris astris, qui terram, qui maria condiderit: item noster Maro summum Deum modo spiritum, modo mentem nuncupat, eamque velut membris infusam totius mundi corpus agitare: item Deum per profunda caeli, per tractus maris, terrarumque discurrere, adque ab eo universas animantes trahere vitam. Ne Ovidius quidem ignoravit, a Deo instructum esse mundum; quem interdum opificem rerum, interdum mundifabricatorem vocat. Sed veniamus ad philosophos, quorum certior habetur auctoritas, quam poetarum. (b) monarchiam adserit unum Deum dicens, a quo sit mundus instructus, mirabili ratione perfectus. Aristoteles auditor ejus unam esse mentem, quae mundo praesideat, confitetur: antisthenes unum esse dicit naturalem Deum totius summae gubernatorem. Longum est recensere quae de summo Deo vel thales, vel pythagoras, & anaximenes antea vel postmodum stoici cleanthes, & chrysippus, & zenon, vel nostrorum seneca stoicos secutus, & ipse tullius praedicaverint: cum hy omnes & quid sit Deus definire temptaverint, & ab eo solo regi mundum adfirmaverint; nec ulli subiectum esse naturae, cum ab ipso sit omnis natura generata. Hermes, qui ab virtutem, multarumque artium scientiam trismegistus meruit nominari, qui & doctrinae vetustate philosophos antecessit, quique apud aegyptios ut Deus colitur; majestatem Dei singularis

infinitis adserens laudibus, Dominum & patrem nuncupat: eumque esse sine nomine, quod proprio vocabulo non indigeat quia solus sit; nec habere ullos parentes quia ex se & per se ipse sit. Hujus ad filium scribentis exordium tale est: Deum quidem intellegere difficile est, eloqui vero impossibile etiam cui intellegere possibile est; perfectum enim ab imperfecto, invisibile a visibili non potest comprehendere.

Supereft de vatibus dicere. Varro decem sybillas fuisse tradit: primam de Persis, secundam lybissam, tertiam delfida, quartam cimneam, quintam erythream, sextam samaiam, septimam cumanam, octavam hellespontiam, nonam frygiam, decimam tiburtem, cui sit nomen albunea: ex his omnibus cumanae solius tres esse libros, qui romanorum fata contineant, & habeantur arcani: ceterarum autem fere omnium singulos extare, haberique vulgo, sed eos sybillinos velut uno nomine inscribi; nisi quod erythraea, quae troici belli temporibus fuisse perhibetur, nomen suum verum posuit in libro, aliarum confusi sunt. Hae omnes de quibus dixi sybillae praeter cymaeam, quam legi nisi a quindecim viris non licet, unum Deum esse testantur, principem conditorem, parentem, non ab ullo generatum, sed a se ipso satum, qui & fuerit a saeculis, & sit futurus in saecula; & idcirco solus coli debeat, solus timeri, solus a cunctis viventibus honorari: quarum testimonia, quia brebriare non poteram, pretermisi; quae si desideras, ad ipsos tibi libros recurrendum est: nunc reliqua persequamur, &c.

The Author proceeds to the Eighth Chapter of the First Book. The reading of this Abridgment is certainly useful, tho we have the Work it self: Those who have read a Book, are well pleased to read an Extract of it made by a Judicious Journalist. This Manuscript, generally speaking, is very correct and well preserved; only in the First Page, there are many Places where the Ink does not appear. The Words are generally written without any Interval between them; but there is an Interval left in many places, especially between the several Members of a Period. In that Part, which I have transcribed for your Use, there is a pretty large Space after *videtur*, which is the End of the Prologue, where I begin a new Paragraph: The same may be observed after *capisse*, where ends the Abridgment of the Second Chapter. However, there is no trusting to those Intervals, nor to the larger Letters, or new Paragraphs, because they are

(a) I. vindicabit.

(b) Plato is wanting.

are frequently wrong. The Transcriber observes no Pointing; only he inserts a Point here and there, which generally resembles a Kind of a Comma. The Point is often to be found between the several Sentences, but not always in its proper place. Sometimes it is inserted next to a small Part of a Sentence, as where the Names of the Sibyls stand, (some of which are very wrong), and sometimes next to every Word, as in this Fragment, *aeternus. incorruptibilis. impassibilis.* When he designs to mend his Writing, he does it sometimes with a Point above, and sometimes with a thin Line. I have observed, that when the Diphthong *ae* happens to be at the End of a Verse, and he wants room, he writes an *a* with a small Dash over it. For the same Reason he makes sometimes a small Dash under an *e*. As for what concerns the Orthography of this Manuscript, you may have a perfect Notion of it from this Specimen. *Adque* for *atque* is to be found almost every where, as also *scribtor*, *scribfit*, *inperator*, *comprehendi*. There is in it *juvebat*, and *tavernaculum* with the usual Alteration: Very often *aliquit*, and *set*: There is once *exacra* for *exsacra*, and on the contrary *uxfor* for *uxor*: There is once *libere* for *livore*: There is also *formosum*, which, if my Memory does not fail me, I have also observed in the *Virgil* of Florence, mended by a Consular Hand. I find *agellius*, where there are no Abbreviations, and *has omnis ineptias*, which agrees with the Ancient Orthography, as it has been observed by Norris, if I am not mistaken, in his *Cenotaphia Pisana*. In those Verses of *Lucilius*, quoted in the *Institutions*, Book I. Ch. 22. all the printed Editions that are now by me, have *credunt signis cor inesse ahenis*, which is a wrong Verse; but this Manuscript has *cor inesse in haenis*. As for the Particle *in*, I take it to be a very good Emendation; and I am sure this Copy might afford many other Corrections. This Piece ends, or at least the Transcriber says it ends with these Words: *non quia vituperandam esse justitiam sentiebat, sed ut illos defensores ejus ostenderet nihil certi nihil firmi de justitia disputare.* Here I might take notice of the Falsity of the Titles to be found in this Manuscript; for, (not to mention some, that are falsely written in a torn Leaf at the beginning,) I find next to the Words just now quoted, *Explicit de opificio Dei, in-*

cipit Epitome: and then follows, *Nam si justitia est veri Dei cultus*, &c. with all that part of the *Epitome* which has been printed: and at the End of it there is *Firmiani Lactanti de fine saeculi explicit*: Which is a new Title taken from the Matter treated of about the latter end of this Piece. Who knows but that such a Division into Two Parts, made by the Transcribers, occasion'd the Loss of one of them? But at last we have the whole Abridgment: only there is a Gap from the XIth Chapter of the First Book of the *Institutions* to the XXth. Some Leaves are wanting there, perhaps because the Book was Bound several Times; and the Ninth Leaf ends with an imperfect Sentence, and even with half a Word.

What follows in this Book is *Epitoma divina providentia*, and above a Page of Matter, which has no Affinity with the Divine Providence, being only a short Account of the Origin of the *Manichees*. It begins thus: *Scitannus quidam fuit ex genere Sarracenorum a quo heresis Manicheorum orta est, qui adversus veram, rectamque fidem quattuor libros conscripsit, quorum unum vocavit mysterium, secundum capitulorum, tertium evangelium, quartum vero librum thesaurum appellavit.* 'Tis observable that this Piece (whether it was transcribed by another Hand, as one might infer, because it is more faulty than the other, or whether the Copist had a mind to make a quick Dispatch) is written in a much different Character, tho otherwise very fair; for the Letters are not only smaller, but have also another Figure in many Places. From whence it appears that the Romans had a much quicker Way of writing, than the other: And tho the Learned Father *Mabillon* says, Book I. C. XI. * that the Smaller Character had the same Form, this Piece shews the contrary; for, next to the first Red Line written in Capital Letters as usual, the following Line written in smaller Letters, has many Characters that are quite different. Which puts me in mind of an Ancient Stone belonging to *M. Bianchini*, (I have often seen it) and engraved *Ursi & Polemio Coss* that is, in the Year 338 of the Christian Era; at the End of which there are some Words in a lesser Character;

* *De re Diplomat.*

(a thing very seldom to be observed in Inscriptions) and even some of those Letters joined with the others. You may see it in the Supplement to Father Mabillon's Work *De re Diplomatica*, and in the last Leaf but one of the Second Edition of that Book, where it is exactly printed: By which Means you will know the Figure of these Letters: For the Letters *r*, *f*, *s*, are perfectly the same with those of this Manuscript; only the *r* is sometimes like the *r* in our printed Books. The same Resemblance would probably appear among the other Letters different from the Capitals, if they could have been inserted in the few Words of that Marble. A *g* in this sort of writing is like a *3*; a *t* has the Stroke bent like a *c*, with a small dash at the top.

The next Piece in this Manuscript is entitled *Origo humani generis*: it is a Chronology consisting of few Leaves, and of no great Value. But next to it, *Incipit expostium Quinti Juli Hilariani de ratione paschae & mensis*. This Piece was look'd upon as lost, and I find these Words in Dr. Cave, where he mentions this Author, *scripsit librum de die Paschatis, qui interit*. It begins thus. *In unum fratres nonnulli, ac servi Dei de divinis scripturis ut aliqua tractaremus, saepe convenimus; ibique desiderantibus eis, de paschali circulo pauca interim locuti, plenam me exhibiturum rationem promisi: igitur jussio fratrum meum promissum iterum & saepe admonuit, ut illud quod dudum de ratione paschae sensim patienterque tractavimus, id jam scribito meo deficeretur. Hoc est ut cum non aliud Dominus Deus Moysi quam primum mensem nominavit, & in eo pascha celebrari praecepit dicens, mensis hic, &c.* This Piece consists of Ten Leaves, and ends thus. *Jam finem hic faciamus huic nostro sermoni, consummavimusque hoc laboriosum opus in die isto III. nonar. martiarum post consulatu Arcadi IIII. & Honori III. Quapropter admonemus eos, qui ante a nobis non emendata haec scribta accipere festinauerunt, ut secundum istum ordinem emendatum opus habere contentur: ideoque ed diem & consules, quod non posuimus primo, nunc huic rationi infiximus: ut ex hinc sciat quis emendatum hoc esse opus.* What follows is in Red Letters. *Quintus Julius Hilarianus explicuit emendavit die III non. martiar. Caesario & Attico Consulibus.* The First Consuls mentioned here were those of the 396th Year of the Christian Era, and the Second those of the Year 397. but this cannot be

the Time of the present Copy. The next Pieces contained in this Volume, are some Sermons, which I have had no time to examine; and at the End of the last Page there is the Beginning of a Piece of St. Austin.

Among the other Manuscripts, which I have perused, I have observed Three or Four Copies of *Josephus*, all in *Latin*; and among these a very Ancient one in a large Folio, which was brought from a very remote Country, and cost a great deal of Money, considering the Time, as it appears from the following Lines in the Beginning of that Copy. *Isse Josephus fuit Dni Episcopi Anteradensis (of Tortosa) & concessit eum fratri Alamanno pro loco Cherii, & constitit XV. bisan. aureos, & vult dicere frater Alamannus quod non possit vendi, neque alienari a dicto loco, & sunt XXVII. libri. Emptus fuit anno ab inc. millesimo CCLXXX.* I have observed another Copy of *Josephus* very carefully written in the Year 1435. at the End of which I find these Words. *Flavi Josephi historiographi nempe clarissimi laboriosum opus immensumque jam tandem satis egregie ut arbitrator, scripturae mandatum est per me Johannem Baptistam ex Marchionibus Palavicinis genere patriaque Cremonensem, sed tum agentibus satis extorrem, & in Fariano moram trahentem apud illustrem avunculum meum dominum Joannem Galeatium Marchionem Salutarum dignissimum.* The Place where it was written, is a fine Seat belonging heretofore to my Family. What appears to me observable, is to see such a large Volume so carefully transcrib'd by a Man of Quality. I know very well that we have many Manuscripts written by Eminent Persons, such as *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and particularly by the greatest Men of the Court of Constantinople: But the Difference of Times is the more remarkable, since the Transcribing of Manuscripts was not looked upon then, as a thing unbecoming a Noble Man; whereas now the bare reading of them is thought by many to be unworthy of a Gentleman. Among the *Italian* Manuscripts there is one Volume of Letters in Folio, of Count *Balthazar Castiglione*. Those Letters are very fairly written, according to that Golden Age, and contain a great many Curious Things, most of them having been dictated in the Time of his Ministry about publick and important Affairs.

There

There is also a Copy of *Dantes*, (among many others written by a good Hand) attended with a *French* Translation in Three Rhymes, as the Text. It begins thus:

*Au milieu du chemin de la vie présente
Me retrouvay parmi une forêt obscure
Ou m'estoye esgaré hors de la droite sente.*

This Translator did not scruple to put together many Feminine Rhymes, that is, ending with a Mute *a*.

But among the *French* Manuscripts, (in which Language there are many large and ancient Chronicles,) I have found the *Treasure* of *Brunetto Latini*, which he writ in *France*, and in *French*, as you know. This Manuscript is very scarce, and not to be found, that I know of, any where else but in the *Vatican Library*, and in that of the King of *France*. Next to the Table of the Chapters, the Beginning of which is lost, I find the following Words:

*Ci comence le livre dou tresor le quel trestata
maistre brunet latins de Florence de latin en ro-
mans & parole (parle) de la naissance de tou-
tes choses.* If these Words are to be credited, one would think either that *Brunetto* writ that Book first in *Latin*, or that it was composed by another Hand, and translated by him. But when he gives an Account of that Work, he does not say he writ it in *Latin*: Nor is it likely that this Book should be a mere Translation, since he had so great an Esteem for it: Which moved *Dantes* to make him say in his *Inferno*:

*Siati raccomandato il mio Tesoro,
Nel qualei vivo ancora, e più non chaggio.*

Any Vulgar Language, derived from the *Latin*, was call'd *Roman* at that time, if I am not mistaken: Hence it is that *Brunetto* in his first Chapter, to distinguish the *French* Language from others, calls it *Romans* selonc le pays de *France*. I shall insert here some Lines taken from the beginning, to give you a Specimen of *Brunetto's* Language. *Cist liures est appelle tresor. Car sicome li sires qui vianc en petit leu amasser choses de grandissime vaillance non pas por son delit. Solement so mais por accroistre son poeir. il met les plus chieres choses, & les plus precieuses ioiaus quil peut selonc la bone entencion. tout autrefi est li cors de cest liures compiles de sapience, &c.*

This Manuscript was written in the same Age in which the Author lived; and it is very difficult in some Places.

There is also a considerable Number of *Hebrew* Manuscripts, with Vowels, and without Vowels, either *Thalmudical* or *Rabbini- cal*: But most of them are Bibles, some of which have no Points.

This Library abounds chiefly with *Greek* Manuscripts. There is a vast Number of them, and most of them are valuable, either for their Antiquity, or the Fairness of the Letter; or because they contain many excellent Things, or many Pieces that have not been printed. I have seen one written in Capitals (and perhaps there are others of the same sort) which contains the *Psalms*, with a continued Exposition likewise in Capitals, tho smaller: The whole is attended with Accents of the same Ink. I have observed some Manuscripts written before the Year One thousand, or much about that Time. Some large Copies of *Metaphrases* are very ancient. There is a great Quantity of other Lives of Saints; and I think most of them have not been published. There are also many *Catena* upon the Sacred Writings, and many Acts of Councils. I believe this Library will afford a considerable Collection of Homilies of the Holy Fathers, unknown to this day, and among others, many of *St. Chrysostome*. I find also many Theological Works, never yet published, among which I think I may reckon the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of *Nicetas Choniates*, and another Work of the same Nature written by *Euthymius Zigabenus*, and the *Amphilochia* of *Photius*, that is, Questions proposed to him by *Amphilochius*.

What shall I say of so many profane Authors, such as *Aeschylus*, *Theocritus*, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, &c.? What could I say of so many Anonymous Works, and of so many Manuscripts, which contain several Pieces? One of them, entituled *Syntagma Canonum Photii*, would take up several Months. There is a Geography of *Nicephorus Blemmida*, which is perhaps a Work of great Value; a Fragment of Geography of *Agathemerus*; and another Fragment of Poetick of one *Arsenius*. There are many other *Greek* Pieces written in the latter Ages, and by those *Grecians* who fled into *Italy* after the taking of *Constantinople*: There is also the whole *Summa* of *Thomas Aquinas* translated into *Greek*. Imust

I must observe that I have found a Volume in 4to. which has raised my Curiosity more than any other Book: 'Tis pity it has been spoiled in many Places, to take out the Miniatures that were in it. That Volume contains a Collection of Imperial Bulls, Privileges, and Acts relating chiefly to the Monastery *νέας πέτρας*. To give you a full Account of that Book, one must read it through, because the Two Tables contained in it are of little use: Besides, whoever peruses that Volume will have but an imperfect Notion of it, because, if I am not mistaken, the Bulls are not inserted at large. What is most observable in this Manuscript, is the Subscription with the Emperor's own Hand, to be seen at the End in large and well formed Letters, written with a red Liquor so bright that it dazzles the Eyes. The Subscription runs thus. *Ανδρόνικος ἐν ᾧ τῷ θῷ πατρὶς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ῥωμαίων δούξας ἀγγελῶ κομνηνὸς ὁ παλαιολόγος*. I do not question in the least but that those Words were written with the Emperor's own Hand; for you know very well that every body else was forbidden to subscribe any Letter, or any publick Act with Cinoper, it being a Privilege of the Sovereign. Perhaps this Book was kept in a publick Chancery, or in the Archives of the Monastery; and the Monks, concerned in those Bulls, got this Copy authorized with the Emperor's Subscription. Next to this Subscription is to be seen that of the Patriarch in great Letters, and between two Crosses, but with the usual Ink. *Γεωργίου ἐλέφ θῷ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος κωνσταντινῆ πόλεως νέας ῥώμης καὶ αἰνιτικῶς παλαιολόγος*. I have observed two Places ending with these Words: *Ἀπολυθεὶς καὶ μῦνα σπλῆθειν τῆς νῦν τρεχέσας τείρας ἰνδικτιῶν* &c. *ὅς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κοίτῃ ἐξ ὁρῶντος τεύχεος ἐτ' ἔτι* &c. *καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐπρέστε καὶ διοπερὲς ληθὼν ὑπεσχημῆναί το κρέ-* &c. I have exactly represented those Words as they are written. The Year, mentioned in them, answers the Year 1271. of the Christian *Aera*. There are always two Points in this Manuscript over an *Iota*, when it does not make part of a Diphthong, and likewise over an *Upsilon*. In the Table some of those Acts are call'd *Αργυρέβυλλον*, and the others *golden Bulls*.

What I have said is sufficient to excite your Curiosity, and to move you to come hither, in order to examine these Manuscripts. If you had been here with me,

you would have made better Observations; for I have been all along taken up with other Business; and therefore if I have committed any Mistake, I ought to be excused, the more because I am not a Man of Letters by Profession. As soon as M. *Alecco* heard of this Library, he sent me from *Verona* a long Catalogue of several Works of the Fathers, either lost, or curtailed, or very scarce, or doubtful, to see whether there was any of them. It were to be wished some of them might be found in this Library, for they were written in the three first Ages of Christianity, or they are very curious, and of great Importance. But I have found none of those Pieces here; and of all the Authors mentioned by M. *Alecco* there are only some Tracts, or Fragments of St. *Hippolytus*, and St. *Irenaeus*.

I must not conclude this Letter without taking notice of the famous Manuscript of *Pirro Ligorio*, which is the only one in this Library mentioned by those, who have published their Travels into *Italy*, and of which we have been told so many Things. This Work consists of about thirty large Volumes in *Folio*. It is written in *Italian*, and treats of Antiquities: The Author, who writ the whole Work with his own Hand, says in the Preface, that he bestowed thirty five Years upon it in *Rome*. It might be call'd a Dictionary of Antiquities, the Matters being disposed in an Alphabetical Order, as in those historical Dictionaries, and others, which are now so much in Vogue. That Work runs chiefly upon the ancient Geography; and therefore it contains the Names of Nations, Provinces, Cities, Colonies, Mountains, Rivers, &c. There is in it a vast Number of other Names, *viz.* Of *Roman* Families, illustrious Men, and ancient Structures. The Author has been very careful to write the *Greek* and *Latin* Names correctly, without spoiling them, which was (says he) a very common thing in his Time. *Pirro Ligorio* was certainly a Man of great Learning, and of an indefatigable Labour; but because he had not a very nice Taste, one must not altogether rely upon every thing that he says. However, this Work may be of very good Use. *Ligorio* has inserted abundance of *Greek* and *Roman* Inscriptions, and many Designs of Medals, Statues, Temples, and other Antiquities; and therefore his Work must needs contain

contain a great many Things that are now lost. Thus for Instance, at the end of the first Volume there is a long Greek Inscription, which was then to be seen upon two Brass Plates in the Cabinet of Maffei, which he calls *del Cardinale primo Masaeo*: I think that Inscription is not recorded any where else.

But since I am discoursing of Antiquities, I must observe that there is a very fine one lodged in this Library, which has not been mentioned by any Body. It is a large Egyptian Table of Metal, representing the Mysteries of *Isis*, and of other Egyptian Deities, and many Hieroglyphicks, It was a sacred Table made use of in some Temple of the Heathens; and it is the very same, which Laurence Pignorius of Padua illustrated and explained so learnedly in his Youth: The Book of that Author is doubtless to be found in your choice Library. You may see there an exact Delineation of that Table, and its Size and Figure by means of *Aeneas Vico*. It was at that Time in the Gallery of Vincent Duke of Mantua, and it had been before in the Cabinet of *Pietro Bembo*.

I think I might have given you an Account of many other Antiquities, if they had continued to dig up the Ground, as they did some Months ago in the City of *Aouste*, where they found Walls, ancient Vaults, Sepulchres, and *Bas-reliefs*; and also many Medals, some of which I have seen well preserved, and not very common. But I must conclude this Letter, beseeching you above all Things to take care of your Health; and assuring you that wherever I go, all the Learned, and all those who love the *Belles Lettres*, do heartily wish you a long and happy Life.

II.

MOEURS & Coutumes des Francois dans les differens tems de la Monarchie, par Mr. LOUIS LE GENDRE Chanoine de l'Eglise de Paris. A Paris, chez Jacques Collombat Rue St. Jacques. 1712.

That is, *AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the Manners and Customs of the French in the different Times of the Monarchy.* By LEWIS LE GENDRE, Canon of the Church of Paris. Paris. 1712. in 120 Pagg. 353.

"I Was very desirous to give a large Account of this Book; but not knowing when it will come to my Hands, I shall insert here an Extract of it published in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, being unwilling to deprive the Readers any longer of the Knowledge of such a curious Piece of History.

THE Abbot *le Gendre* is putting the last Hand to a new History of France. Before he publishes that Work, he is willing to have the Judgment of the Publick about it. His Modesty must needs conceal from him the Merit of the Three Volumes, which he put out some Years ago. That Essay, which contains the History of the two first Races of our Kings, was highly approved for the Exactness of the Author's Enquiries, and the Neatness of his Style. He has revised and carried on that Performance to the Death of *Lewis XIII*. In order to make his History as compleat as it can be, he treats of the Manners and Customs of the Nation in the different Times of the Monarchy; of the Genealogy of the Royal House; and of the great Officers of the Crown under each King.

He exposes now to the publick View that Part of his Work, which concerns the Manners and Customs of the French, that he may perfect the whole Work by the Judgment of intelligent Readers.

Ancient Manners of the French.

The most probable and the most general Opinion does not go back so far as the *Trojans* and *Scythians* to find out the Origin of the French or Franks: 'Tis commonly believed they came from that Part of Germany, which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Weser*; and that their Name was a Name of Confederacy, and a Sign of their Love for Liberty. They lived upon Hunting, Pulse, Fruits, and Roots: Their Houses were only made of Wood, Clay, or Boughs: They worshipped

shipped the Sun, the Moon, Trees, and Rivers: They paid their Adoration to their Gods in Caverns, or in the darkeſt and thickeſt Parts of their Forests: Their Priests were the Divines, Astrologers, Physicians, and Judges of the Nation. Notwithstanding their Wildneſs, they exerciſed Hoſpitality: Every Houſe was an Inn, where Travellers met with a kind Entertainment: They took great Care of ſick People, and even of the Dead. There was neither Gold nor Silver among them: Payments were made in Leather, Corn, Fruits, and Cattle. They never grew fond of Money, till they began to plunder on this Side of the *Rhine*, in the Year of Chriſt 260. or thereabouts. Their good Succeſs prompted them to make new Incurſions: They grew rich by it; and becauſe that Trade ſuited with their Humour, they betook themſelves to plundering more than ever by Sea and Land. They underſtood Navigation as well as any other *European* Nation; as it appears from what we read concerning ſome of thoſe Pirates, who being taken in *France* by the *Romans*, and ſent into the *East* under the Reign of the Emperor *Probus*, ſeized upon ſome Barks, with which they infeſted the Coaſts of *Africa* and *Sicily* in the Year 280.

Thoſe Irruptions exaſperated the Emperors againſt the *French*: They were like to be exterminated by *Conſtantine* in the Year 310. *Conſtans* would have done it in 342. had not the Revolt of *Magnentius*, who had lately aſſumed the Purple, obliged him to go another way. Neither the Arms of the Father, nor the Threatnings of the Son, and of the Emperor *Julian*, could reſtrain them long. Several Conjunctions increaſed the Boldneſs of thoſe Robbers. When many Tyrants aſpired to the Empire, the *French* ſided with him who gave them moſt, and then forſook him as often as they could hope to get ſomething by it. Notwithstanding their Perfidiousneſs, the Emperors conſided in them, and raiſed ſome of them to the higheſt Dignities in the Empire. Some were High-Treafurers, Maſters of the Militia, Prefects of the *Prætorium*, Patrices, and Conſuls, under *Conſtantine*, *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*; but whiſt theſe Men defended the *Roman* Empire, other *French* ravaged it by their Incurſions.

They continued to do ſo above a Hun-

dred and fifty Years, without any other Deſign than to plunder. They began to think of invading *Gaul*, when it was almoſt forſaken by the *Romans*. The *Alans*, *Suevi*, *Gepide*, and *Vandals*, had ravaged that Country in their Way through it. The *Goths* and the *Burgundi* had lately ſettled themſelves in it; the former towards the *Alpes*, and the latter towards the *Pyrenees*. Thoſe Settlements revived the Ardor of the *French*. The remaining Part of that fine Country, being ruined and ill defended, was eaſily conquered. It was *Pharamond*, as 'tis generally believed, who began that Conqueſt in the Year 418, or 420. *Clodion* extended it as far as the River *Somme*; *Meroveus* as far as the *Seine*; *Childerick* as far as the *Loire*; and *Clodovis* as far as the *Pyrenees*. We muſt not infer from thence that thoſe ancient *French* were very well ſkill'd in the Art of War: 'Tis certain they had but an indifferent Knowledge of it; and their chief Talent lay in a ſort of Valour attended with Fierceneſs. The *French* were brave Men without any great Ability; and their Enemies proved more ignorant, or leſs courageous, than they.

The Conquerors divided among themſelves the Lands of the vanquiſhed, I mean, thoſe Lands which had been poſſeſſed by the *Romans* and the *Western Goths*, and by thoſe *Gauls* who had ſided with either of them. The King kept for himſelf the moſt conſiderable Lands: Others fell to the Lot of the Officers, in Proportion to their Services: The Soldiers had alſo a Share in the Booty, and the Land. Taxes were only laid upon the *Gauls*: The *French* were only to fight.

The victorious Troops ſettled themſelves in the Provinces, where they kept, for a conſiderable Time, the ſame Subordination which they had in the Service. They met every Year, both to be muſtered, and to keep the People in Awe. That Review was made during the firſt Race, on the firſt Day of *March*; and ſince the Reign of *Pepin*, on the firſt Day of *May*. The *French* Year began in the time of the *Merovingians* from the Day of that Muſter: It generally began at *Chriſtmas* under the Reign of the *Carlovingians*, and at *Eaſter* under the *Capetians*. It was *Charles IX.* who ordered in 1564. that the Civil Year ſhould begin for the time to come the firſt of *January*. This Difference of

of the beginning of the Civil Year gives a great deal of Trouble to determine exactly the Date of each Event.

All the *French* resorted to that Assembly well armed. Their Arms were a Halberd, a Club, a Sling, a Mallet, an *Angon*, an Ax, and a Sword: The Ax was flung very near at Hand: The *Angon* was shot at a Distance; the Head of that Javelin resembled a Flower-de-Luce.

The *French* were so nimble, that they fell upon the Enemy as soon (if one may say so) as the Dart which they shot at him: Their Swords were so broad, and the Edge so fine, that they cut a Man into two. Their defensive Arms were only a Shield made of light and polished Wood, and covered with boiled Leather.

Upon Occasion of those Musters, that were made in an open Field, an Assembly of the whole Nation was held in the same Place: The King and his Officers never failed to be there. Those Officers were the Mayor of his Palace, the Apocriary or Almoner, the Chamberlain, the Constable, the Butler, and the Referendary. The Mayor of the Palace was a greater Man than the Grand Vizir among the *Turks*: The Chamberlain gave all Orders in the King's Chamber; the Apocriary in the Chappel; the Constable in the Stables; the Butler was to provide for the King's Table, and the Referendary to dispatch Letters. It was long after, that those Servants of the King became by Degrees Officers of the Crown: They had not that Title yet in the Time of *Philip August*.

To those Assemblies of the Field of *March*, or of *May*, (so call'd from their being held in an open Field, the first Day of *March* or of *May*) were summon'd all the Bishops, and the most powerful Abbots. When the *French* had made themselves Masters of *Gaul*, the Bishopricks were more courted than ever. Most of the Great Men among the *Gauls* threw themselves into the Church, as it were into a Place of Refuge, lest they should be suspected of conspiring against the State. Besides, the Bishopricks were so rich, and attended with so great a Power, that a Man resigned the noblest Employment to be made a Prelate. *Vaimire* Duke of *Champagne*, and General of the Army under the Reign of *Thierry I.* asked the Bishoprick of *Troyes* as a Reward for his Ser-

vices, and had much a-do to obtain it. The first Kings of *France*, either to appear good Christians, or out of Esteem for the Prelates, did hardly deny them any thing.

The great Abbies procured almost the same Authority. The *French* founded them without any great Cost: They yielded to the Monks as much waste Ground as they could manure. Those Penitents, who did not consecrate themselves to God in order to lead an idle Life, made it their Business to grub up the Land, to build, and to plant, not so much to make themselves more happy, (they lived a very frugal Life,) as to be able to help the Poor. By that means those barren and desert Places became pleasant and fruitful. Some Abbots were so rich, that they could raise a small Army; which is the Reason why they were invited to the Assemblies of the Field of *March*.

All Dukes and Counts were also summoned thither. The Dukes were Governors of Provinces, and the Counts Governors of Cities. Those Dignities, created by the Emperors, were suppressed by the *Vandals*, the *Goths*, and the *Burgundi* in those Countries where they settled themselves. On the contrary the *French*, to please the *Gauls*, who had been long used to that sort of Government, thought it a Piece of Policy to make no Alteration in it, and divided all *Gaul* into Dutchies and Counties. The *French* Dukes and Counts had, as well as the *Roman*, the Administration of War and Justice. Those Dignities were only Commissions which the King gave for a time, and frequently upon the Choice of the People, who were allowed by a special Favour to name the Duke or Count, whom they thought to be best acquainted with the Customs of their Country. When any one of those Officers was wanting to his Duty, he was tried in those general Assemblies: The Queens themselves were tried there. Queen *Brunehaut* was condemned there by the great Men of the Nation in 614. to a Punishment no less strange than cruel. *Clotarius II* tho a Wife and Moderate Prince, acted so far against his own Interest, as to revenge himself upon her for some hard Words which he said she had given him.

The Bishops, Abbots, Dukes, and Counts, who were in those Assemblies, made Presents to the King in Money, Goods, and Horses. Ever since, the Mayors assumed to

themselves the Administration of the Government under *Thierry I.* about the Year 687. the Kings of the First Race, according to our Ancient Authors, had only the Title of King, and the Honour of presiding in the general Assemblies, where they received the usual Presents. Those Presents were call'd Free Gifts, because they had been voluntary at first: In process of Time they were exacted, and no body was exempted from them.

It was in those Diets that new Laws were made, and old ones repealed: There they debated about War and Peace, and generally about every thing that concerned the Nation. The King, or his Minister, made the Motion: The Assembly voted upon it; and every thing was decided by a Majority of Votes.

That Assembly appointed the Guardians of the King's Children, when he did not do it himself before he died. As long as the Mothers of Kings under Age had a sufficient Capacity, not only to bring them up, but also to govern the Kingdom, they always had the Regency. *Fredegonda* was Regent of the Kingdom under *Clotarius II.* *Batilde* under *Clotarius III.* And before them *Brunehaut* under her Son *Childebert II.* under *Thierry* Son of *Childebert*, and under the Children of *Thierry*.

It was there that they divided the Succession, that is, all the Treasures and States of the deceased King, when he had not done it himself. All the Legitimate and Illegitimate Children succeeded equally, if the Father would have it so. *Thierry* Son of *Clovis I.* by a Concubine, succeeded his Father; and because he was the Eldest, he had a greater Share than the Three Sons whom *Clovis* got by his Wife.

It was also in those Assemblies, that a Day and a Place were appointed to proclaim the new King. At his Installation, in the first Times of the Monarchy, he was carried Three Times round the Camp upon a Shield; but sometimes the Installation was performed by putting into his Hand the Sword, or the Ax of his Predecessor. *Gontran* King of *Burgundy*, when he adopted his Nephew *Childebert* in the Year 581. put his Lance into his Hand. In process of Time, they used more Ceremonies at the Installation of a King.

The Throne being placed upon a Theatre in the Sight of every body, the Prince seated himself upon it, wearing a Royal Habit, having a Scepter in his Hand, and a Crown on his Head. The Throne, or Royal Seat, had neither Arms, nor Back, to put the new King in Mind that he should support himself, without relying upon any body. The Royal Habit was a Mantle, generally White, sometimes parti-coloured with Blue, reaching to the Feet forwards, dragging backwards, and on the Sides coming down to the Waste. In a Mosaic Work made under the Reign of *Charlemagne*, which may be seen to this Day at *Rome* in *St. Susanna's* Church, that Prince is represented with a Royal Mantle, as I have described it, and upon his Knees before *St. Peter*, who puts into his Hands a Standard seeded with Roses. The Scepter, or Royal Staff, was a Gold Rod, most times of the King's Size, and bent like a Crozier. He frequently held in his Hand a Branch of a Palm-tree instead of a Scepter: His Crown was sometimes radiated like that of the Emperors: Sometimes he wore a Diadem adorned with Two Sets of Pearls, or a long Cap, not unlike a *Tiare*, with the Prince's Name round it in large Letters made up of small Gold Nails.

Our Ancient Kings had a Scepter in their Hand, and a Crown on their Head, not only at their Installation, but also in the full Courts, (*Cours plénieres.*) Such was the Name of those Magnificent Assemblies held at *Christmas* and at *Easter*, or upon Occasion of a Marriage, or any other Solemnity; sometimes in one of the Royal Palaces, sometimes in a great City, and sometimes in an open Field; but always in a convenient Place to lodge Great Men. They were all invited to that Assembly, and obliged to go: Most of them went to it against their Will, because such a Journey was very expensive, and because the more they affected to live like Sovereigns at home, the more the Court endeavoured to humble them, and to keep them within Bounds.

The Feast began with a solemn Mass, during which the officiating Bishop, assisted by the other Prelates in their Pontifical Habits, set a Crown upon the King's Head before the Epistle. The King wore it till he went to Bed; he kept it on at Table and at a Ball: He dined in Publick, in a Place somewhat raised

raised, that he might be seen by every body : The Bishops, and the most eminent Dukes sat down at Table with him ; other Tables were appointed for the Abbots, Counts, and other Lords. There was a great Plenty of Meat, but without any Delicacy. Every Course for the King's Table was preceded by Flutes and Hautboys, and by many Officers. Before the Desert Twenty Heralds at Arms standing round the Table, and holding each of them in their Hand a Cup full of Gold and Silver, cried out Three Times as loud as they could, *Largess of the most powerful of all Kings* ; and then they threw away the Money : Whilst the People took it up with great Acclamations, the Trumpets sounded. Such a Hurly-Burly had something in it that was noble.

There was in the Afternoon Fishing, Gaming, Hunting, Rope-dancing, Jesters, *Jongleurs*, and Pantomimes. The Jesters told merry Stories ; the *Jongleurs* played upon the Cymbal, which was then an Instrument very much esteemed. The Pantomimes represented a Comedy by their Gestures, and did it so well, that they afforded more Pleasure than a real Comedy. Some of those Buffoons taught Dogs, Monkeys, and Bears, to make the same Postures, and to act part of their Plays. Those Men (as we are told) were so perfect in their Art, that it may be a Question whether the *Mimi* and *Pantomimi* of the Ancients exceeded them. All sorts of Mountebanks were sent for to those Assemblies ; which could not be done without great Charges : The Solemnity was greater or lesser, in proportion to their Number. This Custom did so prevail, that the Emperor *Lewis the Debonair*, notwithstanding his Aversion to Publick Shews, was not only obliged to send for all sorts of Actors upon those Festivals, but also to assist at their Plays, out of Complaisance for the People.

A *Full Court* lasted Seven or Eight Days, during which Time they were not so taken up with good Chear and Sports, as to do no Business. It was there that the Commissioners, who were sent into the several Provinces to enquire into the Lives and Conduct of the Judges, made their Report to the King. If Subjects ought to be faithful and obedient to their Prince, the Prince is bound on the other side to do Justice to his People. This is the first Duty of a King :

besides, it is the most effectual Means to settle his Authority. Those Princes are well beloved, who preserve the Publick Peace, and hinder the Strong from oppressing the Weak and the Poor. *Clovis*, being a great Politician, had no sooner conquered *Gaul*, but in order to get the Love of the People, he embraced their Religion, made no Alteration in their Customs, and took Care that no Wrong should be done to them.

Every body was tried according to the Laws of his State, and by Men of his own Profession ; the Clergy according to the Canons, the *Gauls* according to the *Roman Law*, the *French* according to the *Salique Law* ; the Clergy by Clergymen, the Soldiers by Military Men, and the Nobility by Noblemen. As for the People, they were tried in Boroughs and Villages by Judges call'd *Centeniers*, and in Cities by the Counts : Gownmen were altogether unknown under *Clovis*, *Pepin*, *Hugh Capet*, and above Three Hundred Years after. All Lay Judges were Swordmen, and were only Judges for a Time. They could get no State within the District of their Jurisdiction ; and when they were recall'd, which frequently happen'd, they were obliged before their Departure, to answer all the Complaints made against them.

They held their Assizes in a Field, in a Church-yard, at the Gates of Cities or Churches, in a Street, upon a Rampart, always in a Publick Place, to which the Parties concerned had an easy and free Access.

Every body pleaded his own Cause : Those of the Poor and Widows were tried before all others. No Sentence could be pronounced against them, without giving Notice of it to the Bishop, because the Poor did belong to the Family of the Church, and the Widows were under her Protection. The Prelates had so great a Power under the Kings of the Two first Races, and under the *Capetians*, even to the Reign of *Philip IV.* surnamed the Fair, that their Intercession was sufficient to save the Life of a Criminal. When a Cause was brought into a Secular Court, one might remove it to the Bishop's Court, and force the adverse Party to undergo his Judgment. This Privilege was grounded upon a Law of *Constantine*. *Charlemagne* revived it ; and his Son *Lewis the Debonair* caused it to be strictly observed. That Custom might have continued to this day,

day, had it not been for the ill use that was made of it, by suffering that the Party concerned should appeal to the Archbishop, to the Primate, and sometimes to the Pope.

Several Things contributed to establish and enlarge the Jurisdiction of the Bishops; *viz.* the Authority attending their Station; the Respect which every body had for them; their extraordinary Virtue, and their Capacity very much exceeding that of Lay-men, most of whom could neither read nor write. That Jurisdiction, or *Court of Christianity*, as it was call'd, determin'd all Sorts of Causes. The Bishop, by his Official, or by himself, took Cognizance of every thing wherein the Church was concern'd: Besides, he took Cognizance of Bargains made upon Oath, of Marriages, Testaments, Sacrileges, Perjury, Adultery, and generally of all sinful Actions. The Authority of the Popes, who supported that Jurisdiction, being lessen'd; the Bishops, who exercised it, having no longer the same Reputation which their Predecessors had; on the other hand, the Nobility being weary of undergoing the Correction of the Priests; lastly, the Laity having apply'd themselves to the Study of the Law, in order to share in the Profit arising from it; the Secular Jurisdiction did at last so far prevail, that it has almost absorbed the Jurisdiction of the Bishops. This is a late Alteration. For the Space of a Thousand Years, and above, no Duke, Count, or *Centenier*, durst encroach upon the Bishop's Jurisdiction.

The Power of those Lay-Judges was very much limited under the Kings of the Two first Races. A *Centenier* could not condemn any body to Death: A Count could only do it in some Circumstances; and a Duke never did it without great Caution. To watch over all those Judges, several Commissioners (Two at least) were sent from time to time into the Provinces. The First was a Prelate, the Second a Duke or a Count. Their Chief Business was to hear Complaints, and to make their Report to the King. There was no Appeal from any Judge, but to the King. When the Appeal was well grounded, the Judge was answerable for the Costs: When it was ill grounded, the Appellant was condemn'd to a Fine if he was a Nobleman, or to be whipp'd, if he was ignoble. The Kings thought themselves oblig'd to administer Justice.

Clouis, Chilbert, Gontran, Chilperic, Clota-rius II. did frequently administer it in Person. The Kings gave Audience at the Palace-Door; and when they could not do it, Two of their Officers took the Petitions of the People, and answer'd them immediately, if the Thing did not require a longer Discussion. Besides those Masters of Requests, there was in the Palace a Count-Judge, who took Cognizance of all Affairs concerning the State, the King, and the Publick.

The Jurisprudence, that prevail'd in all those Courts, seem'd to encourage wicked Actions. Whatever Crime a Man was guilty of, excepting High-Treason, he was only fined for it. The Life of a Bishop was rated at Nine Hundred Gold Pence (*Sols d'Or*), that of a Priest at Six Hundred, and that of a Lay-man much less: The Gold Penny was worth Eight Livres, Seven Pence, Ten *Deniers*, of our Money. It was a difficult thing to try any Criminal, considering the great Number of Witnesses which the Law required to condemn him. Seventy two were requisite against a Bishop.

The Author treats here of the Horrid Custom * of Convicting a Criminal by a single Combat, or by other uncertain and unlawful Trials. In the next place, he discourses of the Remains of Paganism, that prevail'd among the *French* long after the Reign of *Clouis*. He describes the Characters of the Kings of the first Race, and mentions all the Alterations occasion'd in their Court by the Difference of those Characters. *Pepin* is the first *French* King who was consecrated, to remove the Suspicion of being an Usurper by such an August and Religious Ceremony. None of our Kings were consecrated at *Rheims* before *Philip I.* *Lewis* the Young granted to the Archbishop of that City, the Privilege which he enjoys, of Consecrating the Kings of *France*.

The remaining Part of this Article will not be unacceptable to the Readers.

* See above, pag: 95. a short Account of that Custom.

III.

A FURTHER Account of Mr. HEIDEGGER'S SACRED RECREATIONS *.

IV. **M**R. Heidegger observes, that there is hardly any Passage in the New Testament more difficult than these Words of St. Paul, Rom. VIII. 19, 22. *For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the Son of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope: Because the Creature it self also shall be deliver'd from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole Creation groaneth, and travaileth in pain together until now. By the word Creation, κτίσις, the Author understands the whole System of the Earth, with its Inhabitants. He shews the Vanity and Corruption of that Part of the Universe in a Moral and Natural Sense, that is, with respect to Mankind, and with respect to all other Creatures. Men being sensible of their Sins, and Suffering for them, groan upon that Account. As for inanimate Bodies, they may be said to groan under their present Imperfection by a *Prosopopoeia*, the *darling Figure* (says Mr. Heidegger) *not only of all Learned Men, but especially of the Holy Ghost* †. The Author having thus explained Part of his Text, could not go on with the remaining Part of it, because the Chair was to be fill'd up by another Professor. I proceed to some particular Observations of Mr. Heidegger.*

1. When I gave an Account of St. Chrysostome's Treatise concerning the Christian Priesthood, I observed † that he had a better Notion of St. Paul's Character than Beza. It will not be improper to insert here a Passage of

* The First Extract may be seen above, p. 325. & 329.

† C'est la figure favorite, non doctorem tantum omnium, sed imprimis Sp. S.

‡ See the 1st Vol. of these Memoirs, p. 343 Col. 1.

Mr. Heidegger, whereby it will appear that his Thoughts concerning that Apostle are the same with those of that Father. "Scriptor totius Epistolæ (says he) est Paulus, vir δὲ πρῶτος, si quisquam. Sed cum Spiritus Sanctus à lapsu preservare contentus, sua sacris Scriptoriis non mutaverit ingenia, aut acquisitas sese exprimendi facultates, licet porro observare, fuisse virum eruditum, profundum, Rabbinicæ Sapientiæ compotem — nec exoticorum incurium, utpote ex quibus subinde aliquid inspergere est ausus, non admodum probando, si hic & nunc viverit, more: ceterum verborum, phrasium, & superstitionis methodi (ut solent verè eruditi) incurium, prudentem, cautum, & à contemporaneis epistolarum receptoribus intelligi satis habentem, si videlicet quid traiaaret ad fidei fundamentum non omnino pertinens."

2. Mr. Heidegger affirms, that there is as great a Corruption among the Christians of this present Age, as there was among the Heathens in St. Paul's Time. Here follows his Description of the general Depravation of Manners. "Nil attinet dicere (says he) quàm misère & futiliter ætatem agant Indi, Thraces, Hottentotæ, Hyperborei, Papistæ, &c. Nostram (qui λέγει πνευματικὸς, scilicet pubes audire volumus) solummodo tabem, labemque, tribus duntaxat verbis — degustemus. Quot, obsecro, nos jam in propatulo agitant pestes? quot intemperie, adeò futes & absurdæ, ut eis immerissimi quique non possint tamen non easdem verbis & Chrestologis suis magnopere detestari. Quanta, Optime Deus! est Mammonæ iniquitatis servitus, & artificiorum, quibus colitur, negotiositas! Quanta ambitionis! Quæ artes, quæ larvæ, qui sancti prætextus, quæ Sycophantiæ, quæ cursuræ, quæ alludiationes, & basiationes &c. intermittuntur, ut nobis nostrisque mendicemus honores, aliis præcipiamus? Quanta omnium Ordinum inter sese amulatio, quàm barbarus contemptus, et vicissim ferox contumacia? Quæ calumniandi rabies, et quæ longè peior est, calumniarum avidè admittendarum facilitas? Quæ injustitia in foro, quæ domi libidines, quæ in provinciis exactiones, quæ in Sacris mendacissimæ histroniæ, quæ in comitiis tribunitiis πρῶτον πρῶτον, quæ ubique nundinationes, proditones, oppressiones, perfidiæ

" & perjuria? Subinde quasi cogimur recor-
 " dari verborum Job IX. 24. *Terra traditur*
 " *in manum improbi, siue improborum, qui fa-*
 " *ciem judicium ejus obtegunt.* Conf. Zeph. III.

" 3, 4
 " Verbo, quid tandem est veteris hominis
 " *deceptricibus cupiditatibus corrupti*, quod
 " non propalam, & ex parte sub titulo *soler-*
 " *tiae* ubique grassatur? ——— *Ne faci-*
 " *mus quidem secundum jura gentium, quae cir-*
 " *ca nos sunt.* Ezech. V. 7. Imo easdem fa-
 " *cimus sanctas prae nobis* Cap. XVI. 51. Quod
 " olim Romae Quintilianus, id jam, mutato
 " quasi Scenae loco, nos affirmare possumus:
 " *Sanctius ultra Alpes vivi.* Quo magis mi-
 " rificum mihi visum est, fuisse, nuper,
 " qui de Italia convertenda cogitassent
 " (miros homines, sed mihi notos) quasi
 " nulla hinc esset Rhodus, in qua salta-
 " rent.

" Et huc facit illa bellandi, velut pro dote
 " hominibus data, rabies, quæque imprimis
 " Christiani orbis historiam ita foedat, ut nulli
 " gentilium, aut brutorum (si qui horum
 " essent) annales non sint ab istis labibus
 " mundiores. Quid enim nostris & plerif-
 " que aliis diebus aliud est pulchrum illud
 " Christiani Orbis Sacrarium, quam Palæ-
 " stra illa Joabi & Abneri, ubi quisque ap-
 " prehenso capite proximi sui, gladium suum
 " immergit lateri ejus; quidque æquius,
 " quam ut deinceps non Galliam, non Ger-
 " maniam, non Scandinaviam, &c. amplius
 " nuncupemus, sed ubivis Chelcat Hassurim
 " * 2 Sam. II. 16.

* *And they caught every one his Fellow by the*
Head, and thrust his Sword in his Fellow's Side;
so they fell down together: wherefore that Place
was call'd Helkath bazzurim, which is in Gibe-
on. 2 Sam. II. 16.

L O N D O N.

I Am informed by a very good Hand, that
 Dr. Woodward is making some Additions
 to his *Natural History of the Earth*, and that
 he is likewise answering the Objections that
 have been raised against it.

3. Our Author takes notice of several
 Things in the System of the Earth, which
 he looks upon as great Imperfections, and
 which (says he) will be rectified in time by
 the Wise Creator of all Things: Such as
 Lightning, Hail-storms, prodigious Rains,
 hard Winters, Hurricanes, Earthquakes,
 Inundations, Animals feeding one upon
 another, &c. The great Frost in the Years
 1708, and 1709. appears to him a great Ca-
 lamity, especially because it destroyed Vine-
 yards. *Non possum hic non meminisse atrocis*
illius frigoris, quod anno superiori tot animantia,
tot arbores, tot frutices, præsertim uviferos
(quod sine dubio imprimis dolendum est) penitus
extinxit. Mr. Heidegger makes another Ob-
 servation, viz. that Death shews her Face
 every where; and then he adds, that there
 is nothing lasting upon Earth but *Vice* and
Odium Theologicum. *Omnia* (says he) *morti-*
bus plena. *Nihil hic vivax est præter malos*
mores & Odium Theologicum.

4. To conclude, I shall observe that the
 Author appears very much offended with
 the following Verses made upon the Royal
 Palace at Versailles.

Hic erat ante chaos: dixit Ludovicus, & ecce
Regia fit divo: facta est sic machina mundi.

I shall give no Account of Mr. Heidegger's
 Confutation of an old Argument revived
 against the Protestants.

Mr. Morton has lately put out the *Natural*
History of Northamptonshire. An Account
 of that Excellent Work will be shortly pub-
 lished in these *Memoirs.*

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